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The Politics of Capitalism

By J. T. W. NEWBOLD

WHILST the capitalist system of production, as we understand it today, with its factory industry, its gigantic undertakings, its wonderful mechanism of manufacture, its infinite variations, its intricate connections and its ever-growing army of wage and salary earning workers, may be said to be the creation of the last century and a half, the private appropriation of land, the accumulation of commodities and their use of capital, the far-reaching exchange of the products of wage-workers, and the development of a considerable class of "free" laborers, had a much earlier origin, and had become the characteristic economy of this country at least two centuries before the Industrial Revolution. In studying the nature of British political institutions, the origins of Britain's traditional attitude towards Sea Power, in the matter of the Empire and of Ireland, the beginnings of the land problem and the establishment of those vested interests which impose a legal check upon all forward movements, it is imperative to look further back than the period of great technical inventions and the rise of machine industry. There are, indeed, diplomatic papers in the keeping of the Foreign Office, dating to the 17th century, and affecting the Newfoundland Fisheries which are not yet available to the student, and which are jealously guarded in the event of their being required in future international conversations. The main features of the Constitution were the product of 17th century class-struggles fiercely contested to obtain legal sanction and armed authority for certain forms of property of a revolutionary nature. The pillars of Society, the venerable families whose services to the State fill the chronicles of fawning historians, the ancestors of the Conservative leaders of today, the respectable lineages whose title-deeds are frequently the insubstantial assumptions of divine ordination, all those elements whom the upstart recruits of trade and finance reinforce and honor for the repute and immemorial sanction that they bring to property were, themselves, the fortunate beneficiaries of political rebellion and social revolution. Their real estate, their offical dignity, their clutch on the public purse, their ecclesiastical settlement, their governmental institutions, the ideological myths that they invented and promulgated as first principles of Justice, Right and Liberty, were all the gains of a successful assertion of class-domination, founded on force, and achieved by the most ruthless, corrupt and bloody expedients. The Marxian Socialist accuses the State, the governing class and their lick-spittle scholastic apologists at the judgment bar of history, and draws his mass of evidence from the records of their infamy or their hypocrisy.

When the Feudal system had collapsed during and after the Wars of the Roses, the Tudor Kings and their statesmen built up a powerful national government drawing its authority from the Crown and, in name only, depending on the sanction of the Lords and Commons "in Parliament assembled." Amongst the achievements of the Tudor monarchy was the detachment of the Church in England from the political Church Universal or Church of Rome, and its re-organization as a department of State with the King as "Supreme Governor on Earth." Following upon this revolutionary act, the Crown confiscated the lands and properties of the great Religious Houses or Monasteries, retained a few of them for itself, but sold or granted by far the greater number to the gentry and nobility, who thus came to have a vested interest in the maintenance of the Established Church and the Royal Supremacy. Crown and landowners next proceeded, in more or less legal guise, to appropriate common lands, wastes and charities, and to consolidate their economic and political power. The landed class if they could no longer wield feudal authority in manor and lordship, became the local administrators in the new national State system, presented the clergy to their livings, and invested "squire and parson" with the glamour of English Nationalism. In Scotland, the laird and the minister—at any rate, outside the Highlands—assumed an equivalent authority.

This economic basis of Anglo-Scottish patriotism drew the two "nations" together and, at the same time, caused both Anglican and Catholic landowners to unite in defence of "Land and Liberty."

The disposition of the Stuart Kings to treat the Realm as an estate and to build up a centralized despotism, protected by a standing army and the Divine Right of Kings, soon encountered the violent hostility of the merchant and farmer classes. The former experienced and appreciated the fact that the king wanted ready money, ample credit and the Divine Right of taxing and borrowing to any amount. The yeoman farmers were by no means sure that an Absolute Monarch and a Court of favorites like Buckingham would not set to work and expropriate the small landowners in the interests of the nobility. They disliked the ceremonial, creed and government of the Established Church as it existed, and wished to make it reflect their interests and ideals. The King and the larger landowners finally came into collision with the merchants and small landowners, the Monarchy was overthrown and then the merchants and the farmer and shopkeeper elements wrangled through the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, the former relying on Parliament and the Scottish Presbyterian landowners, who shared the religious outlook of the London merchants, and the latter resting on the Army. This divided dictatorship of the middle-class failed, and the richer merchants and the landowners brought back the king. The landowners obtained from Charles II. the abolition of their feudal tenure and made their ownership of the soil, virtually, absolute. The landowners and Charles ruled England and Scotland together. When, in 1689, the King was again expelled for tampering with the Exchequer, Municipal Rights and the Landlords' Church, the merchants and the landlords brought in a German-Dutch prince, caused him to grant or sell the Crown lands for an old song, settled the land tax that they should pay, lent the Crown the millions to defend the new Constitution, made themselves the perpetual creditors of the people by means of the National Debt, set up the Bank of England, and so established on a firm foundation the financial oligarchy who, with the landed magnates, were to rule the country for the next century an a half. Such was the "Glorious Revolution." It was the coping stone, the culmination of the great struggle for Right, the Right of Property in Land and Credit. By a violent upheaval, following on civil war, rebellion and the execution of one sovereign, the propertied classes of Britain obtained the Constitution, the legal sanction and perpetuation of their continuous usurpations. The landed, financial and mercantile classes henceforth governed Britain through the Cabinet (their informal executive committee), the House of Landlords, the House of Commons (packed with their paid men), an army and a navy controlled and officered by themselves, and a judicature acting for their King . . . a king "made in Germany."

Rule, Britannia—Britannia, Rule the Waves.

From the time when the members of the landed class settled down to develop their English estates, and certain commercial magnates began to defy with success the restrictions on freedom of trade and employment imposed by the Guilds in Corporate Towns, the manufacture of woollen cloth assumed a capitalist character and the rearing of sheep became a business proposition. Contemporaneously with this change in economic conditions came the discovery of America, the enormous increase in the amount of gold in circulation, and the opening up of lucrative trading, colonising and planting opportunities in India, the West Indies and elsewhere. The gentry of the West and the merchants of London embarked on the overseas traffic with the utmost enthusiasm, bringing to their commercial rivalries an intense religious fervour and patriotic sentiment. From the reign of Elizabeth onwards, there is overwhelming documentary evidence of the connection between the woollen and clothing industries and the voyages of adventure and speculation. "Political and commercial considerations," says the Cambridge Modern History, "were so closely mingled at the opening of the seventeenth century that it is difficult to distinguish the trading enterprise from the military ambition of the period." The Navy League to this day has no more popular saying than that of Sir Walter Raleigh, "Whosoever commands the sea commands the trade, and whosoever commands the trade of the world commands the riches of the world and consequently the world itself." That became, to all intents and purposes, the watchword of English statesmanship in all that concerned foreign relationships, and is of immeasurable importance in that, to the present time, it remains and ought to remain the guiding policy of all who would perpetuate capitalism in this country.

The Court, the nobility, the gentry and the commercial and shopkeeper classes all participated in short or long-date joint-stock trading or colonising projects to West Africa, Virginia, Russia, China and elsewhere. Out of these developed the great Chartered Companies, like the East India Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, which used the political and military power of the British State to defend and to advance the interests of their immense monopolies, and exercised sovereign rights over vast territories in Asia and America, exploiting the natives and extending their traffic by the most

(Continued on page 7)

Economical Influence in Social Life

ADVOCATES of the "economic interpretation" of history have long maintained the importance of the economic as the underlying factor in social problems. This assumption is important to socialist theories, since it places the emphasis on change in the fundamental, or economic factors, rather than on "social reform," or the attempt to solve social problems without first making an economic adjustment. But, however valuable such a theory may be as a working hypothesis, and however necessary it may be to assume the truth of this hypothesis for all practical purposes,it should never be regarded as established until all the available facts relating to it have been collected and analysed. It should therefore be of great interest to all who hold this theory to see what light is thrown upon it by scientific analysis.

The scientific way of testing the influence of a particular factor in a problem where there are several factors which may possibly be causes is to vary the factor which we want to test, and to keep the other factors constant. If we find that there is only one factor which is variable, or that one is overwhelmingly variable, then we may assume that the variable factor has been the principal cause. Compared with the factor of economic change, most other causes of social problems, over a long period of time, have been relatively constant. Great changes and upheavals in the economic life have occurred since the Industrial Revolution, which have no parallel in any other field. We cannot assume, for instance, that any increase in the total amount of marital unhappiness could cause a sudden rise in the divorce rate. There were, for instance, a great many more divorces in the U. S. in 1906 than in 1904, but we know that the amount of unhappiness were probably no greater in 1906 than in 1904. The explanation undoubtedly is an economic one; the costliness of the proceedings makes divorce possible only when a person is on a firm economic basis, and likewise the increased economic independence of women in a period of prosperity may be important. Looking at these two years, we find that 1904 was a year of business depression in the U. S., prices and wages were low, there were many commercial failures, and there was a great deal of unemployment. In 1906 on the other hand, therewas general prosperity, prices and wages were rising, and there was comparatively little unemployment. Is it not more reasonable to seek the cause of the change in the social factor, divorce, in the change in economic conditions rather than in a change in a psychological factor like happiness? Again, in the case of disease. We are all subjected to contact with tuberculosis germs. But we are not all equally susceptible, and the disease occurs, generally, among those closest to the poverty line. Furthermore, increases in certain years, correspond to years in which there was business depression and widespread unemployment. So also the variations from year to year in the marriage rate cannot be explained by any variation in the sex instinct from one year to another, but, in general, by the conditions of business and employment.

It is interesting even to know the fact that social conditions change as a result of economic conditions, but the importance of this knowledge is greatly increased if we can tell anything about the degree of relationship. Is the infant death rate more closely connected with business conditions than the general death rate? Do crimes against the person and crimes against property give evidence of the same degree of economic causation? How far can we say any particular social problem is determined by economic conditions?

By statistical analysis, we can obtain results which show the degree of relationship between business conditions and social events. Our method is to obtain series of statistics over a number of years which will show the changes in economic conditions, and other series which will show the changes in social conditions, and to compare each of these social series with the economic series. We want then to express the relationship between each particular social series and the economic series in quantitative form which we can compare with each of the other relationships.

Cycles of business, that is, alternate periods of prosperity and depression, are the common lot of all capitalist countries, and therefore, a satisfactory index of economic conditions must be one that will show most clearly these cyclical fluctuations. Because of the complexity of modern industrial life, this series must represent as many types of economic activity as possible. In constructing a business cycle for the United States, (*) the following types of economic activity were represented: wholesale prices, commercial failures, employment, coal and iron production, railway freight-ton mileage, bank clearings, and imports. After both the social and the economic series have had all influences but the cyclical removed (that is, the general upward movement, or downward movement which is the long time trend, and the normal seasonal movement) we can measure the relationship between the economic cycles and the social cycles. To do this, weobtain what is known as the coefficient of correlation. If for every upward movement in the economic series there is a corresponding upward movement in the social series, and the downward movements also correspond exactly, we have a perfect correlation, which is expressed as 1. Any lesser correlation will be expressed as something between 1 and 0, that is, as a fraction. For example nine-tenths will represent a high, five-tenths a moderate correlation, and 0 a lack of correlation. Conclusions follow from results obtained in studying the conditions in the U. S. Similar work on English material, although not in form for publication, indicates that these conclusions are also applicable to conditions here.

1. Marriages.—The correlation between marriage rate and the business cycle is high, being nine-tenths for the period 1870—1920. This means that in times of unemployment and business depression the marriage rate falls to a minimum and rises with the return of "good times." The construction of the marriage rate below what might be considered normal is bound, in itself, to have undesirable social results. There seems to be evidence that prostitution and illegitimacy increase when the marriage rate is below normal.

2.—Births.—The correlation between the birth rate and the business cycle for the same period is fairly low three-tenths, if we assume that it moves one year after the changes in business conditions. This relation is probably only secondarily an effect of business changes, and is primarily due to changes in the marriage rate.

3. Divorce.—The correlation is high, seven-tenths, for the period 1867—1906. The economic influence on the divorce rate has been emphasised earlier in the article.

4. Disease.—There is evidence that the diseases of poverty fluctuate closely with the business cycle. The coefficients of correlation have not been computed.

5. Death.—The general death rate shows a surprisingly high correlation, sixth-tenths. This means that there are more deaths in times of prosperity than in times of depression, but the faulty death registration in the U. S. may affect the result. Similarly infant death rates show a correlation of four-tenths. This may mean also, of course, that the bad effects of a period of depression do not show their results immediately, but lead to deaths several years later, in a period of prosperity. This seems to be also the medical opinion.

6. Suicide.—The suicide rate in the U. S. for the period 1900—20 shows a high negative correlation of seven-tenths, that is, there is a large number of suicides in times of depression, few in prosperity. The economic factor is undoubtedly an important cause of suicide.

7. Crime.—Crime may, in general, be considered in three classes. (a) There are "professional" crimes, that is, those committed by habitual, expert criminals. These are not numerous enough to obtain adequate statistics of their fluctuations, but they are probably unaffected by short period changes of economic conditions. (b) There are crimes due to psychological causes. These are fairly numerous, and include a large number of juvenile crimes, sexual crimes, etc. Statistics were not available in the U. S. The English figures suggest an economic influence. Recent statistics of the rejections of drafted men in the U. S. because of mental disorders, however, show that a much larger number came from urban than from rural districts. This would tend to show the economic influence in causing mental disorders, and hence its indirect influence in causing the so-called psychological crimes. (c) By far the most numerous class of crimes have a definitely economic origin. Crimes against property, with violence, including burglary, housebreaking and robbery, and the more numerous crimes against property without violence, including all sorts of larcencies, receiving stolen goods, etc., all seem to show a close connection with the business cycle. The figures were not available for the U. S., and these conclusions are based on English returns. The only satisfactory statistics in the U. S. were certain New York figures for total convictions for crime. These showed a fairly high negative correlation of four-tenths; convictions were large in economically bad times and small in good times.

This article is in many ways inadequate, based as it is on unfinished results. The excuse for it is that the results are suggestive, and that they give some idea of the far reaching social effects of the trade cycle. They show the futility of regarding the trade cycle as only a business phenomenon, and indicate, on the other hand, that it is closely interwoven with the social fabric of modern life. Furthermore, it suggests that the social problems arising from these conditions described above are dependent on economic conditions to so considerable an extent as to make fundamental change impossible until there has been a fundamental change in economic conditions.

Dorothy Swaine Thomas in ((The Plebs, London)

* See article in Quarterly Journal, American Statistical Association, Sept., 1922. "The Influence of the Business Cycle on Certain Social Conditions." By Ogden and D. S. Thomas.

ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR

By PETER T. LECKIE.

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The Paralyzing Past

LYTTON STRACHEY relates of Queen Victoria that, after the death of Prince Albert, she became more and more perturbed by the lack of stability and permanence in her surroundings. When she was young she had looked forward with some fear perhaps, but certainly with eagerness to the future, but as she grew old she found that the friends and advisers of her youth were taken from her one by one, and even the institutions of society and the Empire developed and decayed before her eyes. She was after all, a quite ordinary old lady of the nineteenth century, and as she had had to adapt herself to the strange situation of being the embodiment of all the pomp and dignity of the leading nation of the age, it was not surprising that with her the desire for security became an obsession. She set herself to the task of petrifying the world as it was, and of suspending the forces of disintegration.

"She gave orders that nothing should be thrown away—and nothing was. There in drawer after drawer, in wardrobe after wardrobe, reposed the dresses of seventy years. But not only the dresses—the furs and mantles and the subsidiary frills and the muffs and the parasols and the bonnets—all were arranged in chronological order; dated and complete . . mementoes of the past surrounded her in serried accumulations. In every room the tables were powdered thick with the photographs of relatives; their portraits, revealing them at all ages, covered the walls; their figures, in solid marble, rose up from pedestals, or gleamed from brackets in the form of gold and silver statuettes. . . And it was not enough that each particle of the past should be given the stability of metal or of marble: the whole collection, in its arrangement, no less than its entity, should be immutably fixed. There might be additions, but there might never be alterations. . Every single article in the Queen's possession was photographed from several points of view. . . The fate of every object which had undergone this process was thenceforth irrevocably sealed. The whole multitude once and for all, took up its steadfast station, and Victoria, with a gigantic volume or two of the endless catalogue always beside her, to look through, to ponder upon, to expatiate over, could feel, with a double contentment, that the transitoriness of this world had been arrested by the amplitude of her might."

You will smile at the picture, perhaps, at the same time sympathising a little with this exhibition of human weakness. For although we cannot all enjoy the troublesome delights of being Queen Victoria the hankering after the imagined peacefulness of stagnation, and the desire to peg down the universe, or our little corner of it, are not restricted to old ladies and did not die with the nineteenth century. We are all possessors, in some degree of the facility for retaining experiences and using them for the formation of habits. It we hadn't this power, life would be one long round of painful repetitions of error, and, in fact, it is difficult to imagine the continuance of human society at all under such conditions; but the price we have to pay is the disinclination we have for altering our habits when once use has made them natural. Every one of us would, if he could, sit back leisurely and content, and contemplate the blessedness of things as they are. It has chanced, however, that we were born in an age when things are not by any means blessed, and either we must deaden our perceptions by swallowing the illusions of religious and political charlatans or we must set ourselves to find the remedy. Individuals rarely set themselves this task from choice; our preference for the old familiar ways of thought and action leads us first to try every known but fruitless remedy before we will recognise that new problems need new solutions. When therefore one system sinks into decay the energy to conceive and construct a new society must come from those who, despite their efforts to maintain themselves, have been forcibly deprived of status and security and cut off from traditional links with the past. And, again, no such revolutioanry purpose can gain wide acceptance until the old conditions have become so unbearable that we cannot tolerate their continued existence.

We have arrived now at a stage of capitalist development in which it is becoming more and more difficult for the problems of the workers to be shelved any longer, and their solution within the system is a sheer impossibility, but as we find in every historical epoch, custom dies hard and new ideas progress but slowly. All the acquired ingenuity of individuals is first directed to stemming the tide of dissolution, and in view of this it is not surprising that old institutions should live on tenaciously long after they have become economically absurd and politically a mere obstruction. Discontent among the workers is fairly general, while among the capitalists there is a growing realisation that unless they can succeed in allaying the discontent they will fall victims to it. It is readily understandable why the latter, who view society from above, should look backwards to find remedies for today's problems, but the so-called leaders of the workers, many of them self-styled revolutionaries, are also in the ranks of the Queen Victorias.

In the war days, when the ruling class were in dificulties and the workers particularly restive, the talk was all of the new world. Now our Trade Union officials and Labour Leaders, the men, "of vision," can talk of nothing but the necessity of not going below the pre-war standards, and they and the business men are united in casting longing eyes on the supposed happy days of 1914. The prophets, who we are told will show us the way to our earthly paradise, can do nothing better than discuss financial schemes and currency reforms to get us back to 1914 prices. Labour men, Liberals, Conservatives and Communists are all devising plans to win back our pre-war trade. Liberal journalists on Labour's Daily sigh for a return of the clean and gentlemanly politics that existed before the devil, Mr. Lloyd George, turned the world awry. The agricultural labourer's wise men can think of only one policy, that of asking the Government to give them back their wages board. The dockers' officials tremble with fear over the unofficial strike lest it should lead to the destruction of a great mass of those much-sought-after seals on the worker's slavery, known as wage agreements.

Ramsay MacDonald is forever perturbed lest the ancient usages of our Parliament be departed from. We have, in fact, reached a point where the feeling of unrest is so acute that the very worker's orginisations, existing nominally to hasten the process of change, have become rocks of stability for the ruling class.

The "Industrial Group of the House of Commons," composed of business men, recently issued a warning to the Government, in which they "viewed with apprehension" the "disruptive force of unemployment on the trade unions, which are a safeguard of industrial peace." In particular they "feared" that unless the Government did something the Amalgamated Engineering Union would disappear. (Daily Telegraph, 26, 7, 1923.)

In fact, like Queen Victoria, these captains of industry, these Labour Leaders, and many of the workers, too, want all the old junk of capitalism photographed, recorded and labelled, so that they, poor bewildered sheep, may rest secure in the knowledge that the capitalist system will be tomorrow to its minutest detail just as it is today. Better to rot or starve in the decrepit hovel they know than venture out and risk dying strange deaths out of their beds. The capitalist would rather deal with a certain known and limited evil, the trade unions, than face the terror of the unknown. Think of the docker's strike! If the unions were to go, what might there not be underneath? Hell itself. The Labour Leaders would far rather prepare for the next war, while protesting their determination to prevent it, than face up to the situation as it really is and decide to help scrap the social system which makes war.

But all their anxiety will avail them nothing; the conditions of 1850, which made the Amalgamated Engineering Union the "new model" for all the workers, have passed with the challenging of Britain's world supremacy, and the Engineering Union is now only an example of what the workers ought to avoid.

Sooner or later these leaders must justify themselves by their deeds, and as they cannot remove the cause of discontent, the discontented will some day awake to the necessity of removing the present form of society.

Before they arrive at this recognition a painful and necessarily slow mental process must be gone through, its speed increasing as the pressure of circumstances becomes more insistent. They have got to see that the limits of social development set by private ownership have already been reached, and that the continuing growth of our powers of production can only aggravate the present evils.

The capitalist class, having themselves once had to take charge of a similar dangerous situation, successfully developed the required revolutionary energy. They ushered in their social system, brought it to its triumph, and enjoyed the fruits of success. They then allowed their functions of initiating, organising and directing to fall to other hands, those of the workers. They made Socialism possible, but Socialism can be established only when the workers develop the same confidence in their powers, the same self-reliance and determination that characterised the capitalists who threw down the challenge to feudalism. The workers must cut themselves adrift from the old system and the old parties, persons and notions. They must challenge every institution, question every authority, examine critically every creed, every conception, not excluding those which are popularly supposed to be eternal like ideas of right and wrong. They must give up their pathetic beliefs in the superiority of the ruling class and its institutions and consciously develop their own standards of conduct, remembering that the purpose and the conditions are the only final measure of their usefulness. It may be true, for instance, that in a broad sense the members of the capitalist class owing to their leisure and opportunities of culture have developed qualities very desirable from a social standpoint, but from the nature of the present situation these qualities sink fo rthe workers into insignificance in comparison with the urgent need for self-assertion, the necessary precursor of emancipation. They must realise that there is, and can be no improvement in the status of the workers, except at the expense of the other class, becaunse it is the ownership of the means of wealth production which is at stake. It follows therefore that every step will be contested fiercely by the present owners, with whom there can be no useful compromise. They must give up trusting to leaders who can do nothing for them, whether well intentioned or otherwise. They must aim at understanding the social system in which they live as a means to controlling the forces which at present overawe them. It may seem easier to follow the method of Queen Victoria, who surrounded herself with a host of odds and ends to hide the unwelcome facts of life, but it has the two-fold objection that the forces of change went on working just the same, while Queen Victoria only succeeded in making herself a slave, toiling to perpetuate the myth she had created.

H.

—In "Socialist Standard" (London).

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PRESSING NEED.

WE learn, it is said, through trial and error, and if the truth of the observation be granted, it follows that we are now learning fast.

In the matter of learning the world seems to have abandoned hope in its normal educational institutions, as witness the cry of educational authorities all over the civilized world that but a small percentage of governmental and municipal expenditure is devoted to schooling. The vastly greater percentage goes toward the output of war material of one sort or another.

And so the children in this and other lands go to school on the half-time system, the grown ups go to work on the half-time system, and the business of the several administrations, so-called, is to see that enough military might is stored up for use at any time. Education, it seems, costs too much.

The ideals and standards of education in the capitalist world are suffering from shock today. Uncertainty, industrial and intellectual unrest assume a positive character in challenging the standards of the old order. Perhaps, in a world suffering the immediate outcome of the "trials and errors" of 1914-18 there is a tendency toward the feeling that in partially abandoning the educational programme there is not so much lost after all.

But what of ourselves? Capitalism, before or since the period of the war, has amply demonstrated its hopeless incapacity to ensure the workers a constant supply of life's material benefits. Experience was the educator there. Yet the great hope of the commonwealth on the part of the great majority was suspended until such time as the official schooling in gross patriotism had driven worker against worker at the behest of those interests higher up on the social scale. From then on, through trial and error, the workers' viewpoint one and all have come under some sort of change, and out of it all, from each and every school of thought there has come some sort of expressed opinion that whatever curriculum might be needed by the workers and in whatever school of opinion it might be propounded, the educational programme already swallowed was of less use to the worker himself than it was to the master for whom he worked and for whose lands and factories he fought. The question has arisen, expressed in many forms, why did de do that and why has he suffered ever since the untold miseries of capitalist society's weight, expressed in hunger and want?

It would seem that in the fact of these happenings there would be a general hurry and scurry to the quarters where educational facilities are to be found. Yet, not anywhere, not in any school of socialism or laborism is the educational or the news carrying journal in any better financial position, relatively, than the orthodox school. The workers' educational enthusiasts have been overcome by apathy, and the "militants" in the labor movement demonstrate a hopeless lack of necessary schooling in meeting their adversaries, excepting, that is, in the uses of declamation and abuse.

As to the Family Journal and its place in the financial affairs of men, we refer to our present and recent records in subscriptions. We are convinced that, although working class resources are always strained, the lack of Clarion subs. is not due altogether to our readers' lack of the dollar. Nor is it due to lack of sympathy with the Clarion outlook not to its material, considered as a whole. All working class journals appear to be quite as much afected as we are, and the procedure of general appeal for financial support seems to be as regular with them as with us. The reason is general apathy.

We have sent out a considerable number of "subscription expired" notices since last issue and we would call attention to the need for response. Apathy must be overcome. It is impossible to overemphasise it that if the Clarion is to be maintained the Clarion must have a greater subscription list. Our opinion, biassed perhaps but firm, is that the workers are sorely in need of its continuance, for they will have to approach its point of view sooner or later. Let it not be another case of trial and error.

HERE ANR NOW.

Following, $1 each—L. G. Atkins, Gustive Lee, C. F. Schroeder, Harry Grand, C. W. Allsop, G. P. Craig, J. Pryde.

Following, $2 each—J. W. Bailey, Katherine Smith.

Above, Clarion subs, from 15th to 28th September, inclusive—total, $11.

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THE FUTURE OF THE RHINELAND.

The aims of France's policy, as pursued by her most influential statesmen and soldiers.

BY FRANZ DAHLEM (Berlin).

THE great war was fought for the conquest of new fields for exploitation and new markets, for the purpose of defeating competitors and imposing favorable economic treaties. The central powers lost the war. It is not they who are now exploiting—as they intended it should be—the natural resources and man power of a Rhineland-Westphalia and Lorraine-Belgium that lie beneath their sway. The matter is entirely reversed. The Entente was victorious. And it is now reaping the harvest of its success. France's share of the spoils of war lies for the most part in Europe; she is now proceeding to fetch this, and to secure her title to it.

Here is is merely intended to show, with the aid of some data and statements made by the leading men of France, the general line being taken by French Rhineland policy; we shall not here enter into the question as to how far the influence of Anglo-French antagonisms has modified this line, or is further likely to modify it.

At the end of the year 1916 the French ministry set itself the following war aim in the West:

"France claims Alsace-Lorraine with the frontiers of 1792, the Saar district, and also demands the formation of an independent German state on the left bank of the Rhine, as a buffer state between France and Prussia."

On February 14, 1917, the following agreement was reached between the government of Czarist Russia and the Poincare government, in return for the cession of Constantinople to Russia:

"1. Alsace-Lorraine is to be restored to France.

2. The frontiers are to be extended to at least the limits of the former dukedom of Lorraine (thus approximately to the line Trier-Kaiserslautern. Ed.) are to be drawn in acordance with the judgment of the French government, as required by strategic necessities, and are to include the whole iron area and the whole Saar district as French territory.

3. The remaining districts lying on the left bank of the Rhine, outside of the French districts, are to be converted into an independent and neutral state, and are to be occupied by French troops until the enemy states have completely fulfilled all the conditions and pledges contained in the peace treaty."

These arrangements were upset by revolutionary Russia.

General Foch, the commander-in-chief of the allied troops, held tenaciously to the above agreement at the conferences which preceded the conclusion of the Versailles peace treaty. It suffices to cite the following from his memoranda of November 17, 1918 and January 10, 1919, at the peace conferences:

"Compared with the 64 to 75 millions of Germans living in Germany on the other side of the Rhine and in the surrounding states, the numbers of the population on the left bank of the Rhine are only as follows: Belgium 7,800,000, Luxemburg 260,000, Alsace-Lorraine 1,900,000, France 39,600,000, a total of 49,560,000. If we add to these 5,400,000 on the left bank of the Rhine, we obtain a total of 54,960,000.

. . . As this total by no means reaches the number of the German masses, it follows that there can be no neutral states on the left bank of the Rhine. The population on this bank must be in a position to take up arms against the German danger when it arises. Neutrality is a chimera, even from the standpoint of defence, for it must be an armed neutrality, and must be combined with the action of the neighbouring powers. . .

This state organization must lead to the adoption of an anti-German attitude on the part of this population, a political attitude which can become military at a given moment. Thus the men capable of bearing arms must be organized, in times of peace in numbers proportional to those of the population, as troops adapted to fight against Germany in case of war. . .

Besides this military necessity, such an arrangement must be accompanied by the following measures: 1 Germany must be absolutely prohibited from any military access to, or any political propaganda in, the country left of the Rhine; this country may even be protected by means of a neutral zone on the right bank. 2. The military occupation of the left bank of the Rhine is to be secured by the forces of the allies. 3. the left bank of the Rhine is to have its necessary markets secured by participation in a joint customs' regime with the other western states."

At the peace conference the standpoint of Clemenceau-Tardieu with regard to the western frontiers of Germany was, in view of the Anglo-American opposition, finally formulated as follows:

"1. In the general interests of peace, and in order to secure the execution of the fundamental clauses of the League of Nations, the western frontier of Germany is drawn on the Rhine. In consequence of this Germany renounces all sovereignity over, and all customs' connection with, the territory of the former Empire lying on the left bank of the Rhine.

3. The territories on the Left bank of the Rhine (with the exception of Alsace-Lorraine, are to be

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An Unusual Friendship

BY FRANZ MEHRING.

THE victory of Marx's career was not only due to the man's enormous power. According to all human probability, he would have succumbed sooner or later, if he had not found in Engels a friend, of whose self-sacrificing fidelity we have had no accurate picture until the publication of the correspondence of the two men.

No other such spectacle is afforded in all recorded history. Couples of friends, of historical importance, are found throughout history, and German history has its examples also. Frequently their life-work is so closely interwoven that it is difficult to decide which accomplishment belongs to each one of them. But always there has been a persistent remnant of individual obstinacy or stubbornness, or perhaps only an instinctive reluctance to surrender one's own personality, which in the words of the poet, "is the highest blessing of the children of men." After all, Luther saw in Melanchton only a chicken-livered scholar, while Melanchton regarded Luther as a coarse peasant. And in the correspondence of Goethe and Schiller, any one with sound sense can discern the secret lack of attunement between the great Privy Councillor and the small Court Councillor. There is no trace of this ultimate human weakness in the friendship of Marx and Engels: the more their thoughts and labours became interwoven, the more each one of them remained a full man, complete in himself.

Their exteriors were quite different. Engels, a blond Teuton of tall stature, of English manners, as an observer once said of him, always well-dressed, with a bearing that was rigid with the training not only of the barracks, but also of the counting-house. With six clerks, he said, he would organise a branch of the administration a thousand times more simple and efficient than with sixty Governmental Councillors, who cannot even write legibly and get your books all balled up, so that the Devil himself can make nothing of them. A member of the Manchester Stock Exchange, perfectly respectable in the business dealings and the amusements of the English bourgeoisie, its fox-hunts and its Christmas parties, he was yet a tireless mental worker and fighter, who, in a little house on the outskirts of the city, held his treasure concealed, his little Irish girl, in whose arms he would refresh himself whenever he tired of the human turmoil in the world without.

Marx, on the other hand, short, thick-set, with flashing eyes and a lion's mane of ebon hue, betraying his Semitic origin; of careless exterior, a father, whose family cares alone would be sufficient to keep him away from the social life of the great city; so intensely devoted to consuming intellectual labor that he has hardly the time to gulp down a hasty dinner and uses up his bodily strength to all hours of the night; a tireless thinker, to whom thought is a supreme pleasure; in this respect a genuine successor of Kant, of Fichte, and particularly, of Hegel, whose sentence he loved to repeat: "Even the most criminal thought of a scoundrel is more sublime and more magnificent that the miracles of the celestial sphere," but differing from them in that his thoughts inexorably drive him to action, he was unpractical in small matters, but very practical in large matters; far too helpless to arrange a petty household, but incomparably capable in the business of recruiting and leading an army that was to revolutionize the world.

If it is true that "the style is the man," we must also note their difference as writers. Each in his way was a master of language, a linguistic genius, with a mastery of many foreign languages and even of individual dialects. In this field, Engels was even more remarkable than Marx, but whenever writing in his mother tongue, even in his letters, and of course in his writings, he exercises a most austere care to keep the language free from all foreign admixture of word and phrase without falling, however, into the vagaries of the patriotic linguistic purists. He wrote with ease and lucidity, always in a style so pellucid, that you looked right down to the bottom of the current of his animated speech.

Marx's style was at once more careless and more difficult. In his youthful letters there is still apparent, as in those of Heine, a condition of struggle with the language, and in the letters of his later years, particularly after his settlement in England, he began to make use of a picturesque jargon of German, English and French, all mixed up. In his published writings, also, there is an over liberal use of foreign words, and there is no lack of Gallicisms and Anglicisms, yet he is so distinctly a master of the German language that he cannot be translated without serious loss. Once when Engels had read a chapter by Marx in a French translation, even after Marx had revised the translation, it seemed to Engels that all the vigor and sap and life had disappeared. Goethe once wrote to Frau von Stein: "In metaphors I am ready to stand comparison with the proverbs of Sancho Panza." Marx could easily bear comparison with the greatest of the world's adepts in figures of speech, with Lessing, Goethe, Hegel, so full of life and vigor is his language.

He had fully absorbed Lessing's statement that a perfect representation requires a fusion of image and conception, as closely joined as man and woman, and the university pedants have gotten square with him for this, from Father Wilhelm Roscher down to the youngest fledgeling of a Privatdozent, by accusing him of being incapable of making himself understood except in an extremely vague way, "patched up with a liberal use of figurative language." Marx never exhausted the questions which he attacked beyond the point of enabling the reader to begin a fruitful train of thought; his speech is like the dancing of the waves over the purple depths of the sea.

Engels always saw in Marx a superior spirit; he never wished to play anything but second fiddle by his side. Yet he never was a mere interpreter and assistant, but always a collaborator of independent activity, a kindred spirit, though not of equal size. In the early days of their friendship, Engels played, in one important field, rather the role of a giver than of a receiver, and twenty years later Marx wrote to him: "You know that all ideas come to me too late, and that, in the second place, I always follow in your tracks." With his somewhat light equipment, Engels was able to move about more freely, and even though his glance was sharp enough to distinguish the decisive features of a question or of a situation, it did not penetrate far enough to review at once all the conditions and corollaries with which even the scantiest decision is often burdened. For a man of action this defect is even an advantage and Marx never made a political decision without first calling upon Engels for advice, and Engels was usually able to hit the nail on the head.

Accordingly the advice which Marx asked from Engels was not as satisfactory in questions of theory as in questions of politics. In theory Marx usually was the better of the two. And he was absolutely inattentive to such advice as Engels would often give him, in order to impel him to terminate his labors on his great scientific masterpiece. "Be a litttle less severe on yourself in the matter of your own productions; they are far too good for the public. The main thing is to have it finished and to get it out; the defects that you still see the asses will never discover." It was a characteristic bit of Engels advice, and it was just as characteristic of Marx to ignore it.

It is clear from the above that Engels was better fitted for a journalistic career than Marx; "a real walking encyclopedia,"—so Marx once described him to a mutual friend, "capable of work at any hour of the day or night, drunk or sober, swift with his pen and alert as the devil." It seems that both, after the cessation of the Neue Rheinische Revue, in the autumn of 1850, had still in mind the issuing of another journal in common, to be printed in London; at least, in December, 1853 Marx wrote to Engels:—"If we—you and I—had started our business as English correspondents in time, you would not now be condemned to office-work in Manchester, nor I to my debts." Engel's choice of a position of clerk in his father's firm, in preference to the prospects of this "business" was probably due to his consideration for the hopeless situation of Marx, and to hope of better times in the future, and certainly not with the object of devoting himself permanently to the "damned business." In the spring of 1854, Engels again considered the desirability of returning to London for literary work, but this was the last time; it must have been about this time that he made up his mind to assume the cursed burden for good, not merely in order to be of assistance to his friend, but in order thus to preserve the party's best mental asset. Only with this motivation could Engels make the great sacrifice, and Marx accept it: both the offer and the acceptance required a great spirit.

And before Engels became a partner in the firm some years later, he cannot exactly be said to have trod a path of roses, but from the first day of his stay at Manchester he aided Marx and never ceased aiding him. An unending stream of one-pound, five-pound, ten-pound, later even hundred-pound notes began to flow toward London. Engels never lost his patience, even though it was often sorely tried by Marx and his wife, who had no over-great supply of domestic wisdom. He appeared unpleasantly surprised to learn of it when a note fell due. Slight also was his concern when, on the occasion of another general clean-up of the domestic economy, Mrs. Marx, through misplaced considerateness, concealed a large item and began paying it off by stinting with her household money, thus starting the old trouble over again, with the best of all intentions; on this occasion Engels allowed his friend the rather pharisaical amusement of bewailing the "idiocy of women," who manifestly are "in constant need of guardianship," and contented himself with the gentle admonition: See it doesn't happen again.

But Engels did not alone slave away for his friend in office and exchange all day long, but he also gave to him most of his evening leisure hours, in fact, a great part of the night. Although the original reason for this added labor was the necessity of preparing an English version of Marx's articles for the New York Tribune, until Marx should be able to use the language well enough for literary purposes, the laborious co-operation continued for many years after the original reason had been overcome.

But all this seems a slight sacrifice as compared with the greatest service Engels rendered his friend, namely, his renunciation of his independent accomplishments as a thniker and investigator, which, in view of his incomparable energy and his rich talence, which were carried on by Engels partly owing rect notion of this sacrifice can also be obtained from the correspondence of the two men, even if we note only the studies in linguistic and military science, which were carried on by Engels party owing to an "old predilection" and partly with a view to the practical needs of the struggle for proletarian emancipation. For, much as he hated all "autodidacticism,"—"it's all damn nonsense," he contemptuously said—and thorough as were his methods of scientific work, he was yet as little a mere closet-scholar as Marx, and every new piece of knowledge was doubly precious in his eyes, if it might aid at once in lightening the chains of the proletariat.

(To be continued in next issue.)

Revolutions: Political and Social

BY J. HARRINGTON

Article Fourteen.

WE have one more political revolution to review before we take up the enormous economic and industrial development which finally placed the world and all that therein is under the rule of capital.

The French election of May 1849 had returned a safe and sane majority, but it also revealed dissatisfaction in two important quarters. Many rural districts and many regiments gave a large vote to republican and socialist candidates, of which quite a number were elected. The election for president gave Louis Napoleon Bonaparte a majority of well over two to one over all the other six candidates, of whom, the Savior of society, Cavaignac, came nearest, with a million and a half votes, Ledru-Rollins coming next with almost half a million.

We have mentioned the indigent Louis Bonaparte in conference with an Italian banker in February 1848. We need not concern ourselves with the foreign policy of this gentleman, more than to mention that an expedition against the Roman Republic of Garibaldi created a great stir in Paris. Ledru-Rollins and the radicals in the Assembly sought to make this an opportunity to remove Bonaparte. As the constitution forbade an act of war without the consent of the Assembly, the bombarding of Rome by French troops was clearly a case of usurpation of powers foreign to the President and the Minister. The Assembly had already condemned the expedition against Rome; therefor, on June 11th a motion to impeach the government was introduced, and after much rhetoric and many threats had been voiced, was rejected on the 12th. Next day the threats voiced by the opposition were put into execution, demonstrations were started, the government was declared "outside the pale of the constitution" and a few barricades were erected. Cavaignac and Changarnier at once poured an army into the streets, and Paris was surrounded by forty-two squadrons of cavalry. The prompt display of force was sufficient, the leaders who escaped fled from France, many were imprisoned and the National Guard regiments which took part in the demonstrations were disbanded. A considerable district around Lyons rose, which was easily suppressed.

This settled for the moment all the differences between the various fractions in the French propertied classes. In Paris itself the affair was a farce, though in the Southern Departments it was more serious. It lent for a moment a brief hope to the harassed workers in Baden, who thereafter commenced the retreat which led to the last stand at Restradt.

The Republicans had a fairly strong position in the Assembly, and, in the event of an impeachment had hopes that an election would give them added strength. But they chose to invade the streets, and as Marx has it, "If the Mountain wished to win in Parliament, it should not appeal to arms; if it called to arms in Parliament, it should not conduct itself parliamentarily on the street; if the friendly demonstration was meant seriously, it was silly not to forsee that it would meet with a warlike reception; if it was intended for actual war, it was rather original to lay aside the weapons with which war is conducted."

As an upshot of this the Red Spectre was conjured forth, and France, remembering the foul days of June 1848, was ready for the assault later to be made upon it. Fear of the populace compelled it to surrender to an adventurer. As an example of the wily ways of fate we think it would be of interest to refer to two orders of the Prefect of Police. One, issued March 1848, signed Ledru Rollin, called on all department prefects "To arrest Citizen Louis Napoleon Bonaparte should he be present in your department," The other, issued June 14, 1849 signed Du Fauir for L. N. Bonaparte: "To arrest Citizen Ledru Rollin should he present himself in your department."

The term of office for President was four years, and as the last year of his office drew near Bonaparte found himself heavily in debt. He had annexed several friends, among whom were some females with more money and ambition than virtue, considerable more; these were not likely to offer more than the usual embarrasment when the bailiffs arrived on the scene. But the Italian banker and the British statesmen were more likely to insist on the bond as so nominated, and were in the position to exact the pound of flesh "if so be they felt disposed."

An attempt to prolong the term failed, and the only means left for his backers to recover their money or have his promises made good was to sieze power. Bonaparte himself seems to have been opposed to this measure, but the Duc de Persigny declared he must "Be Caesar or Nothing." While the Noble (?) Presigny had not much money to put in the kitty, it appears that he had a genius for organising, and for reading character, at any rate we can judge if the financial backers of the future Emperor were reimbursed, by the fact that several years later one nobleman appeared before his Emperor and told him he required a considerable sum of money to save his **two million franc estate**. He got it too.

But to take a less known side of this much discussed matter, we commence with the significant instruction issued to Walker Breit, the concessionaire of the Dover-Calais cable, January 8th, 1851, to make all possible progress "seing that it is of the utmost importance to be in direct and rapid communication with the cabinet of St. James." The great intimacy of Lord Palmerston, British Foreign Secretary, and Count Walewski, French Ambassador, who, if it be of interest, owed his advent on this eternal graveyard to an interval between a diverted and a sublimated libido, when the complex of Napoleon the Great ran true to type; the father stamped the son with his image, complying with the laws of heredity, but a jealous social code forbade the use of his name. However, that just by the way. The Secretary and the Ambassador had many unofficial confabs. Between that time and the time the cable was completed Bonaparte paraded the provences, and a stage group of more or less "well graced actors" cheered for the Emperor at each stopping place.

We have not space to follow that carefully worked out scheme, but any of our readers wishing to estimate the amount of energy and forethought and money required to seize a crown may find it in detail in Gaudala's "Second Empire." Sufficient for our purpose is the fact that on the 15th of November 1851, two days after the first message had passed over the new cable, General de Saint-Arnaud declared that the degrees hanging in every barrack room in France giving the **President of the Assembly** power over the army must be removed at once. This General had, like Cavaignac, Persigny, Thomas, Clement and many others of this period, stepped from sergeant-major to high command; when any contending factor approached power, it became imperative that a General should be located who would be a square shooter. And it was customary, as it still is, even in the enlightened republic to our left, to create warriors at the expense of a few benighted heathen. So Saint-Arnaud was sent to Africa early in the game to acquire a reputation, which he did, as Gaudala tells us, "by restoring the peace he had disturbed." On the 16th the Generals of the other parties brought a bill before the Assembly to restore to the Assembly the power over the Army; on the 18th this was defeated by a majority of 108.

Thus it will be obvious that the fight was now in the open, and the long period of jockeying for place had given way to moving up the forces to their various positions. For an account of this we refer our readers to "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" (*) by Marx, than which a more masterly historical document does not exist. An intimate knowledge of the facts, an unrivalled understanding of historical forces and political motives, in the hands of a master of language, enlivened by wit as caustic, if less solemn that Gibbon's, combined to make a pamphlet, a real contribution to history. And no one who hopes to sublimate the inferiority complex of our class, can afford to confess ignorance of its contents. We have no apologies to offer for not going over the ground covered by Marx, nor for insisting that this book must, absolutely must be read, must be mastered, by anyone who professes to speak of revolutions.

We give one of his breif analyses: Speaking of the great mass of hirelings directly in the employ of a government, he says, "But the Material Interest of the French bourgeoisie is most intimately bound up in maintenance of just such a large and extensively ramified governmental machine. There the bourgeoisie provides for its own superflous membership; and supplies, in the shape of government salaries, what it can not pocket in the form of profit, interest, rent, and fees. On the other hand, its Political Interests, daily compel it to increase the power of repression, i.e., the means and personnel of the government; it is at the same time forced to conduct an uninterrupted warfare against public opinion, and, full of suspicion, to hamstring and lame the independent organs of society—whenever it does not succeed in amputating them wholly. Thus the boureoisie of France was forced by its own class attitude, on the one hand, to destroy the conditions for all parliamentary power, its own included, and on the other to render irresistible the Executive power that stood hostile to it."

So it was that this fellow whom every one regarded as a clown then, and whom everyone, following the coup-de-etat regarded as a superman, backed by social conditions, Italian bankers, American title hunters and British statesmen, succeeded in subjugating the great French nation. So it was that the army fell into the hands of a clown, and as the great god power has said wherever the army is gathered together, there will I be also.

But to return to the events not recorded by Marx, Changarnier, Cavaignac & Co., regarded the battle won the night before the rejection of their bill to restore power to the Assembly, and already had the prisons chosen for Saint Arnaud, Bonaparte, Persigny & Co., but the cards were against them. On the 26th a young man of noble birth left Paris with dispatches for London, not one of the regular messengers. The Presidental Palace was surrounded by detectives of the Assembly; the days after his arrival Palmerston and Walewski were in secret confab for hours together, and a great reception was announced at the French Embassy on the **2nd of December**. In the meantime, in Paris, Bonaparte, like his great uncle, had an infelicity complex, and the day Walewsky met Palmerston, Nov. 28th, his courage failed him. Persigny exhausted every argument, and then a package arrived from London containing some "advice" and some money. Bonaparte saw the force of this, as part of the advice stated no more was forthcoming; the event was then fixed for the **2nd of December**.

The afternoon of the second of December, the Embassy ball was cancelled. It transpired that not one single acceptance was received. Yet on that very night the Embassy was fully lighted up, "and

(Continued on page 8)

* Cloth bound, 80 cents; paper covers, 35 cents, post paid, from Clarion Office.

The Story of the Evolution of Life

BY T. F. PALMER.

(Continued from last issue)

Partridges, grouse, and hares are all protectively colored, and it requires the practiced eye of the poacher or gamekeeper to detect them wehn at rest. Then there are the remarkable phenomena of seasonal coloration in which the coloring of the animal during summer is quite different to that of winter. The summer attire of the stoats, mountain hares, Arctic fox, and various other creatures resembles that of the surounding vegetation and soil, but in the northern winter, when the ground is mantled with snow, these animals change their color to a pure white. All such transformations possess utility value whether to mammals or birds as a means of concealment, or to the carnivorous fox in permitting him to approach his prey unseen, and protective colouration is made even more efficacious than it would otherwise be by the close correspondence which obtains between this deceptive adornment and the instinctive actions of its possessors. Many most instructive instances of this may be seen in the splendid exhibits of colour adaptation and mimicry in the South Kensington Museum. Various insects are shown so perfectly resembling the leaves and twigs they frequent, that it is necessary to indicate the spot on which the creature is at rest. Many ground birds so closely resemble the rough surfaces on which they repose that one may walk into them unawares. Not only are the shade and pattern of their plumage most wondrously like their surroundings but the birds habitually rest in such a way as to increase the resemblance.

Obviously, any pronounced variation in habit or colouring, would prove a serious disadvantage to the animal manifesting it, if it served to render the creature more conspicuous to its foes. Such a varying form would soon be weeded out by Natural Selection, whereas those organisms which developed a variation still more closely resembling their customary dwelling place would run fewer risks, and would therefore be preserved. Constantly arising as they do, such helpful and harmful variations teach us how the truly marvellous adaptions of organisms to their environment have been gradually perfected.

As if for the express purpose of utterly exploding this evolutionary explanation of protective colouration it was ascertained that various animals scorn concealment and ostentatiously parade themselves to all the world. Quite unlike those caterpillars that so completely resemble their feeding plants that even a hungry bird might miss them, there are others that are very conspicuously coloured. Nor is this phenomenon confined to caterpillars, although the study of these has served to solve the seeming anomaly. Caterpillars protectively coloured seek to escape the persecution of their enemies. Now, insect-eating birds, though never known to refuse these were found to reject the gaudily coloured kind. The distinguished naturalist, Wallace, had previously suggested that some caterpillars were boldly coloured to serve as a warning to insectivorous enemies, and when this theory was put to the test of experiment it was proved that conspicuously coloured caterpillars are distasteful to birds. Thus, the more noticeable the warning colour, the more the danger from attack decreases, and therefore the more these caterpillars vary in the direction of higher colouration the greater their chances of turning into moths, or butterflies.

Even more amazing are the variations developed which serve the purpose of outwitting enemies. These assume a wonderfully deceptive character. Such examples of imitative shading and structure relate to the copying in color and outline of one species by another, so that the mimicking form may be mistaken for its model. The species mimicked usually enjoys immunity from attack, and it is therefore an advantage to the species counterfeiting it to look as much like its model as possible. As we have seen, those gorgeously marked caterpillars which advertise their unpalatability escape molestation, and it is equally profitable to well-flavoured caterpillars to carry the outward and visible signs of inward nauseousness. Mimicry has evidently served its practicers well, and the height of deceptiveness to which it has been carried creates astonishment even in the mind of the field naturalist, accustomed as he is to the wiles and stratagems of the living world. There is usually no close relationship between the imitated and imitating forms and their marked resemblances cannot be due to descent from a recent ancestor. In his "Evolution Theory," Weismann adduces a large number of mimetic cases, and the subject has been brilliantly handled by Bates, Wallace, Poulton and others.

Among the various instances of mimicry we find a non-poisonous species of snake mimicking a highly venemous species. Aggressive ants, again, are mimicked in a most remarkable manner by another insect. In this example, ants inhabiting the Amazons region possess the quaint instinct of stripping leaves from trees which they carry like green flags to their dwelling place. In the same area resides an insect which so closely mimics the ant in appearance that one might easily pass for the other. In this case the body of the mimic has been so modified in form and colour that the insect seems to be carrying a leaf.

In many examples of mimicry the mimic and its model possess in common certain basic likenesses in structure to which in the course of their transformation a few finishing touches have been added to complete the resemblance. We have a quite common instance of mimicry in England in the insect known as the drone fly, owing to its likeness to the hive bee. Now, not only are honey bees respected by a considerable number of potential enemies because of their stinging powers, but they are also distasteful. Bees are consequently avoided by insect eating birds. The drone fly, however. is quite defenceless, and is not unpleasant to the palate, and the presumed advantage to the drone fly in its deceptive likeness to the formidable honey bee has been verified by a series of experiments. Prof. Lloyd Morgan, for instance ascertained "that young birds which had tasted and rejected workers of the hive bee as unpalatable subsequently refused to taste not only drones, which have no sting, but also drone flies."

Our story is now at an end. It might have been longer, but enough has been said to convey a general idea of what the doctrine of organic evolution implies. There is every reason to believe that the wondrous wealth of living forms of the tropical, temperate, and even polar regions, as well as the floral and faunal populations of stream, lake, and sea, have all been developed by the purely natural forces of the Universe. As Darwin observed in concluding his "Origin of Species":—"It is interesting to contemplate a tangled bank, clothed with many plants of many kinds, with birds singing in the bushes, with various insects floating about, and with worms crawling through the damp earth, and to reflect that these elaborately constituted forms, so different from each other, and dependent on each other in so complex a manner, have all been produced by laws acting around us."

(The End)

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THE POLITICS OF CAPITALISM

(Continued from page 1)

shameless oppression and debauchery. They and their servants wielded a sinister and corrupt influence in domestic politics, and were the prime instigators of war with the governmental patrons of rival traders, whether Dutch, French or Spanish. Trading, privateering and war were almost indiscriminately the business of the 17th and 18th century sea-captains and shipowners. Slave-trading was a lucrative and honourable traffic indulged and shared in by the shipping, mercantile and landed classes. Many a respectable family in the neighbourhood of Liverpool, Lancaster, Bristol and Glasgow swelled its rent-rolls and gains of commerce with the profits of the negro-market and the indenture money of kidnapped English and Irish labourers. Their politics were directed towards enforcing the exclusive trading rights of British and Colonial shippers between the several parts of the British Dominions, protection and bounties for the native corn-growers, and measures calculated to make the West India plantations, the colonies and Ireland buyers of British manufacturers and sources of supply of raw materials. The entire landed, mercantile and financial elements of this country utilised the political power which their property placed in their hands to promote what they deemed to be their economic and social interests, whether affecting the tenure of their land, the incidence of taxation, the increase of the public debt, the conduct of foreign trade or the confiscation of the properties of those who had no political standing and no social capacity for organised resistance.

Ireland in Labour's History.

Throughout the seventeenth and into the eighteenth century, these interests, not excepting the Cromwellian "fighters for freedom," robbed the Irish people of their tribal lands, swept them into the wilds of Connemara, Donegal and Kerry, and made of the Emerald Isle a great domain of the English ruling class, of such hereditary exploiters and reactionaries as the Castlereaghs of Londonderry and the Lascelles of Lansdowne. From that time onwards, the Irish problem became the bane and increasing curse of British politics. When, in addition, the English manufacturing and mercantile interests used their political power to cripple and almost to destroy the woollen manufactures of Ireland, and the landed class insisted on the unfailing export of Irish corn to pay their rents regardless of the famine that stalked abroad, the Irish proletariat was driven to Lancashire, to Lanarkshire and to the slums of London and the mining areas to act as "blacklegs," and to spread racial and religious strife (a strife which the cotton-masters of Glasgow and the iron-masters of Monmouthshire deliberately fomented) amongst the working class. In Scotland, the land owners, having degraded the colliers into serfdom by Parliamentary enactment, set themselves to cultivate the linen industry and flax-growing by private and, then, by public subsidy, first in the Lowlands and then in the Highlands, which they "cleared" (i.e., stole) from 1745 onwards. "In the 18th century," says Marx, "the hunted-out Gaels were forbidden to emigrate from the country, with a view to driving them by force to Glasgow and other manufacturing towns."

So, in England, in Scotland, and in Ireland the landed class, farming or leasing their estates for profit, robbed the peasantry of their clan properties, of their holdings, and of their commons by force or legal fraud, threw farm to farm, and drove the rural population to the towns and cities, exported them (if we are to credit Defoe) compulsorily to the West Indies, to North America, or else recruited them into the Army and the stinking hulks of the Navy to police their fellows and widen the bounds of their masters' "Liberty"—the liberty to exploit!

(To be continued in next issue.)

THE FUTURE OF THE RHINELAND.

(Continued from page 4)

constituted as one or more independent states, under the protection of the League of Nations."

After first rejecting the separation of the Rhineland from Germany, both Wilson and Lloyd George gave way. On April 20, 1919, the latter declared to Clemenceau that he was in agreement with an occupation for a period of 15 years, and that this occupation, should Germany not meet her obligations, could be prolonged or renewed after evacuation.

The decisive French ministerial council, which accepted the peace treaty in the form handed to Count Brockdorff-Rantzau on May 7, was held on April 25, 1919. In this decisive session, the Prime Minister, Clemenceau, addressed the following remarks to the President, Poincaire:

"M. President, you are much younger than I. In 15 years I shall be here no longer; in 15 years Germany will not have filled all the clauses of the agreement; and in 15 years, should you do me the honor to visit my grave, I am fully convinced that what you will have to tell me will be: "We are on the Rhine, and intend to remain there.'"

Poincare, as Premier, is continuing this policy with obstinate tenacity. The Ruhr action proves that imperialist France is now determined to present accomplished facts to the world. At the Versailles peace conference France's annexation policy was supported by the alleged necessity of securing France from fresh attacks on the part of Germany, but since then the Comite des Forges, the French military authorities, and the French statesmen, have been using much plainer language. It suffices to give two examples of this.

A draft drawn up in 1919 by the former commander-in-chief of the Rhine army, General Mangin, on the occupation of Dusseldorf and Duisburg, concludes as follows:

"It is possible to disorganize the steel industry, dyes (bye-products) and agriculture (manures). There can be no question of killing industry and agriculture. The working population demands nothing more than to work for us, provided that it can get something to eat and is paid (!). Destruction of industry—social danger—risings—without profit to France. Article 270. Only the convention of Rhenish notabilities (co-operative and economic) could state what services German industry can perform for France in the occupied territory. These delegations will become the germ of the special representation of the special interests of the country."

M. Adrien Dariac, the chairman of the French finance commission, spoke even more clearly in his secret report to Poincare on May 28, 1922:

"Could France not consider the exchange of German coke suitable for smelting, and French ore, for the purpose of joint exploitation, upon a basis on which real industrial co-operation would be possible? We cannot demand of Germany that she pay immense sums for 35 years, if, on the other hand, we are afraid to see her industries develop in a manner enabling her to pay her debts.

But as soon as we have gained a footing on the right bank of the Rhine, and have 45 million tons of ore at our disposal annually, we shall be in a position to play a decisive role in the German iron industry, for we can demand control of its production as an equivalent.

The first act of our autonomy policy is the financial organization of the Rhineland: the drawing of our customs boundaries—closed to the East against Germany, open to the West to France in order to avoid the danger of economic strangulation arising from a double state wall and its attendant limitation of exchange of goods; further, a budget separate from that of the republic, and the substitution of the unhealthy mark by sound currency.

The second act is the substitution of the Prussian officials by Rhenish ones.

The third act is the expansion of the authoritative powers of the High Commission and the convention of an elected corporation.

These are doubtless far-reaching plans, but ones which would be fully justified if carried out judiciously and with a capacity for differentiation, and in proportion to the extent to which Germany avoids fulfilling her obligations. A far-sighted policy could acomplish by means of skilful diplomacy—adding one link after another to its chain of actions—the gradual separation of a free (!) Rhineland from Germany, under the military protection of France and Belgium."

This is the policy of imperialist France and its accomplishment is being tenaciously striven for. No bourgeois government in Germany can put a stop to this work of destruction. It is only the proletariat, only the proletarian revolution, which can liberate the powers, and create for Soviet Germany the allies, that can save the Rhineland and the entire country from colonial slavery. It was the spectre of Bolshevism which restrained Clemenceau, Poincare, etc., from realizing the French war aims in 1919. The aid of the cowardly November democrats in Germany made it possible to "banish" this spectre for a time. But today the working class of Germany, and, outside this class broad circles of the petty bourgeoisie, recognize that Bolshevism, that Communism, is the one way out. It alone can save, not merely the German nation, but the possibility of existence of the German people.—Inprecorr.

REVOLUTIONS, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL.

(Continued from page 6)

loud resounded mirth and dancing." The most pronounced feature was Lord Palmerston and Count Walewski in high glee, and the fact that the British Foreign Secretary had thus openly rejoiced was sufficient warrant to bring every official attache in London to the French Embassy.

Put not your trust in princes but in the British Foreign Office—At times! At anyrate, for many years after the Emperor was crowned the standing by-word in his court was "With Palmerston one can do great things." Palmerston was dismissed for his secret handling of this affair, but he lived to enjoy the fruits, when he became Prime Minister, owing to the scandalous conduct of the British War Office during the Crimean War, 1854.

It will perhaps be proper to point out that the good officers of Nicky of the elephantine hoof, in saving Austria, and his anxiety to emulate Balzac's death-watch on the Sick Man of Europe (Turkey), coupled with his gift of the "rare and nameless marble" for the tomb of the old Napoleon, made a dangerous situation for the country which governed India. Hence we see France and Britain defending the rights of small nations, and Turkey remained to laugh in the face of Europe. Hence we regard Palmerston as a man of vision and foresight.

Well: well: here we are at the end of the chapter and half of it not told. So we will have to leave Paris, revolutionary Paris, till next time.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Editor Clarion:

Please find enclosed $1 for my sub. I have just read the article by "Progress." He or she refers to the Connolly and De Leon quarrel. I belonged to the same local in Edinburgh and consider I knew Connolly pretty well. I always, in those days at least, found him to be an Irishman first before even a Socialist, and as he blossomed out into a printer then and really was some class he got so conceited about it he hiked off to the U. S. and thought for a time he could demand a job on the staff of the Weekly People and, as Dan pointed out, as there were no vacancies and nobody would be fired to make room for him the row commenced. He then started an Irish Socialist paper called "The Harp" and sent a request to us take subs. We wrote him and told him we had already started a parer called the Bagpipe and would be pleased to exchange. I have no sympathy with De Leon for calling him a Jesuit but he provoked the old man quite a lot. We are all very prone to pick up the faults and impairments of others without giving credit for their good points.

Referring to Neil McLean, I may say it is a long time since he was thrown out of the S. L. P. I happened to be there on that occasion. He thought, being national secretary, he should not be disciplined for his actions which were not in tune with S. L. P. policy, but we soon showed him he could not play fast and loose. Then he picked on the smallest comrade present and wanted to fight; he got landed on the sidewalk before he got started; that was tne end of his greatness as far as the S. L. P. was concerned. He got peeved over an article he wrote to the paper (being a slave in Singers' factory he talked shop, as most of them do). He explained capital thus: If a woman bought a sewing machine while her hubby was alive and made clothes for tbe family, that machine was not Capital, but if her hubby died and she made clothes and sold them to make her living it became Capital. What do you thing of that? This was by the way of setting one Cox, M.P., on the right track in economics. Later, when he was billed to speak for the S. L. P. he was found addressing meetings of the unemployed and advocating all manner of reforms, concerning which conduct he defied the discipline of the party. After that he linked up with the I. L. P. and became a shining star.

Brandon, Man. G. P. CRAIG.

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